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FEBRUARY MEETING, 1884.

The stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting, read by the Recording Secretary, was approved.

The gifts made to the Library during the past month were reported by the Librarian.

A letter from the Hon. John E. Sanford, accepting his election as a Resident Member, was communicated by the Corresponding Secretary.

The PRESIDENT then spoke in these words:—

I shall spare you, Gentlemen, and spare myself, from any formal introductory remarks this afternoon, and pass at once to the presentation of several gifts to our Society which have recently reached me.

The Mayor of Charleston, South Carolina, — the Hon. William A. Courtenay,—has sent me for our Library a copy of his private edition of the “Porter Memorial,” of which only a hundred copies were printed. It contains the admirable tribute of my friend, Judge George S. Bryan, of the United States Circuit Court, and of many others of the distinguished citizens of Charleston, to the memory of William Denison Porter, a jurist, orator, and scholar, of South Carolina, of the highest distinction, who died in his seventy-third year, on the 5th of January, 1883. His family were of Massachusetts origin, one of them having served in some of our earliest Revolutionary battles.

Here, in the second place, is a photograph of Henry Clay, one of our late Honorary Members, taken from a portrait of him at the age of sixty-five, by Willard, and sent to us by Mr. J. K. Porter, of this city, to whom the portrait belongs. But Mr. Porter has sent us a much more interesting and historical photograph of Mr. Clay, in his forty-fourth year, taken from an old and rare engraving, in which he is represented

holding in his hands the famous Resolutions for the recognition of the independence of the South American Provinces in 1821. This photograph gives a vivid idea of Clay as a young man, while he was Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and exhibits on the table the same elegant silver inkstand into which I so often dipped my own pen a quarter of a century afterwards, and which is still on the Speaker's desk at Washington.

Here, in the next place, is a reminder of the Indian Tribes in our far West, to whom so much injustice was shown in former years, and from one of the most meritorious of whom, as good Bishop Whipple writes me in great distress, a scheme of taking away their lands, and robbing them of their homes by a forced purchase, is at this moment being arranged and executed at Washington. This, however, does not come from the Indians to whom Bishop Whipple has so devotedly ministered, but is an autograph of the great warrior "Sitting Bull," who not long ago was giving our Government so much trouble. The words to which he has subscribed his name, and which were taken from his own lips, recognize the law of the Great Spirit, and would have gratified good old John Eliot. It has been sent to us by Mr. Finotti, formerly the Italian Consul in this city, and now settled at Yankton, Dakota Territory.

Another autograph is next in order, and comes to us from a remoter region. It is a letter from no less a personage than the King of Siam, dated at his "Grand Palace" in Bangkok, and with his own signature, "Chulaloukorn, R. S." It is sent to us by General John A. Halderman, our United States Minister to Siam, who expresses the hope "that it may be found worthy of a framed space on our walls." It is the king's answer to an invitation from General Halderman to attend the opening of the late Foreign Exhibition in Boston, and is as follows:—

R 43/45

GRAND PALACE, BANGKOK, 8th May, 1883.

SIR, —I have received with pleasure your note inviting me, in the name of the Boston Foreign Exhibition, to be present at the opening of their grand exhibition.

Although I am not at present able to leave Siam, and so regret that I cannot accept this cordial invitation from a great friendly nation, I

highly appreciate the good will which inspired the invitation, and heartily thank your Excellency and those you represent.

With the assurance of my kindest regards,

CHULALOUKORN, R. S.

To His Excellency,

GENERAL JOHN A. HALDERMAN,

U. S. Minister to Siam, &c., &c. &c.

A more substantial and valuable gift comes next. It comes from Mr. William Minot, from whom we received the interesting bracelet of gold beads at our last meeting. It is a small portrait of Washington Irving, taken by Jarvis in 1808, and of which the costume and hands were painted by Washington Allston as late as 1835, at the request of his friend, William Sanford Rogers, a former purser of the United States Navy, a friend of all our old commodores, — Bainbridge, Hull, Morris, — and who, at his death, endowed a school which bears his name, in Newport, his native place. It represents Irving at twenty-five years of age, in the very year in which he published his “Knickerbocker,” and is very much like one of the engraved portraits of him at the same age.

I am sure that you will all desire that grateful acknowledgments of these various gifts should be made by our Cabinet-keeper, and it will be so ordered. But still another gift will presently be announced by one of our associates, and I cannot forbear from saying a few words as to the source from which it primarily comes.

I hazard little, Gentlemen, in saying that, had it been conformable to the usages of our Society to admit ladies to our Resident Membership, our first attention this afternoon would have been called to some notice of the venerable Eliza Susan Quincy, who died at her residence in Quincy, on the 17th of January, in her eighty-fifth year. She was a remarkable person, full of historical reminiscences and of exact historical information. She had helped her excellent father, — so long our senior member, — by her pen and by her pencil, in all his literary labors. His charming Memoir of his own father, — the illustrious Josiah Quincy, Jr., of the Revolutionary period, — his elaborate “History of Harvard College,” and his “Municipal History of Boston,” owed not a little, as is well known, to her discriminating care and judgment. She helped others of her family, too, in their various biographical and literary

productions; and the recent volume of "Reminiscences" of the late Josiah Quincy abounds in passages from her careful diary. Our own Society, as well as its individual members, have had frequent reminders of her thoughtful consideration and regard; and her contributions to our Proceedings and archives have been numerous and valuable. Our Cabinet, too, is indebted to her for the splendid gorget of Washington, worn by him as a British colonial officer, which has a fit place at the side of the epaulets worn by him during the Revolutionary War.

I do not propose to dwell upon her character and accomplishments; but I was unwilling that another gift from her should be presented to us by her nephew until I had made this brief mention of her death, and of the respect and warm regard in which she was held by us all.

Mr. J. P. QUINCY then rose, and made the following remarks:—

I have here certain manuscripts, of which a list has been furnished to the Librarian, that are bequeathed to the Massachusetts Historical Society by the late Miss E. S. Quincy. Although the life of this lady was wholly a private one, her original research upon subjects connected with New England history, and the preservation by her pencil of so many interesting landmarks of the past, may justify me in adding a few words to the remarks of the President.

Miss Quincy's life — eminently beautiful and successful as it was — was the product of conditions gone by, and little likely to return. She was content in never overstepping the limits by which, rightly or wrongly, the judgment of our ancestors bounded the region of woman's activity. Her solid intelligence and desire for beneficent exertion did not cause a restless reaching after new theories of society, nor was she constrained to demand the admission of feminine voters to the caucus and polling-room. Deeply appreciating what had been accomplished by the men who created the American nation, she was willing that new achievements should be made on the familiar lines. The town of Boston, in which she was born, was something more than an emporium of trade, or a swarming-place of foreign voters ready for the political boss.

The government and social leadership of the community were held by a small circle of moral and intellectual prominence. In the town, and afterwards in the young city, there was a conspicuous nucleus of wisdom which accepted a wholesome responsibility for the good behavior of the majority. Miss Quincy entered this best society, determined to win for herself such opportunities of culture and usefulness as it might afford. Possessing in large measure the feminine quality of receptiveness, and constantly meeting the great personages of the country, she absorbed the atmosphere which surrounded them. Familiar intercourse with John Adams, Timothy Pickering, and other survivors of the Revolution, as well as with such contemporaries as the second President Adams, Judge Story, Webster, Everett, and Ticknor, gave this lady an education bearing some resemblance to that of a citizen of ancient Athens. She showed the superiority—in important respects, at least—of the cultivation which comes from hearing the thoughts of powerful minds orally expressed, over the memorizing of printed words which we accept as its substitute. Her journals quickly appropriated the sound reflection or interesting information which she knew how to elicit by pertinent questions. She understood that art of good reporting which gives the essential color of the past by putting the fancy under proper restraint to what may be called the prosaic conscience. The scenes connected with the proclamation of peace in 1815, and the account of the visit of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar in 1825, are published specimens of her success in easy descriptive writing. A journal kept during the visit of Lafayette—which is among the manuscripts now given to this Society—is a trifling sample of her voluminous contributions to this entertaining literature.

Miss Quincy was her father's constant assistant in his literary and political labors; and to a man necessarily so immersed in the present her accurate memory of what had been was of the greatest advantage. In deriving so much of her happiness from service of, and sympathy with, men whom she had reason to respect, Miss Quincy was very near the ideal of womanhood according to the old standard. Her life moved among individualities which seemed more massive and impressive than those we encounter to-day. Doubtless, to the modern woman of her intelligence, her deep inner contentment

with contracted opportunities of influencing the world would be impossible. And so I must emphasize the fact that not only was she satisfied with what her tireless industry enabled her to do for herself and others, but was especially grateful for the place and period in human history in which her life had been cast. For none saw more clearly that the world must now grapple with problems of a complexity as little anticipated by the robust minds of her early association as they anticipated the railroad and the telegraph. It was good, she thought, to have lived when a woman's duty in the social organism was so clearly defined that her path was exempted from confusion and unrest. It was good to have lived when Channing's warm and benignant light was thawing the frost-bound soil of Puritanism, and yet before the doctrines of Darwin and Spencer challenged beliefs associated with the tenderest human sentiment, even if they are not necessary for the moral progress of the race.

But I have said enough of one who shunned all appeals to public approbation, being satisfied with the grateful recognition of those immediately surrounding her. So far as the practical worth of example goes, that life seems best worth living which shows how much moderate talents may accomplish when directed by a realizable aim, and placed under the pressure of constant industry. No better lesson than this is to be learned from the stretch of eighty-five years of which I have spoken. Even while we utter sincerest words in commemoration of the departed, there is an underlying consciousness of the fact that the world is not embarrassed by the loss of any life, since its place can easily be filled. Yet, now and then, an existence germinating from unusual ancestral conditions and controlled by exceptional circumstances, occupies a place so unique that no other existence can be found to fit into it. I think that those who knew Miss Quincy will agree with me that her life may be so described. It is rare that the complex forces which create a high type of feminine character are expended in a feminine career so beneficent, yet so unobtrusive, so harmonious and complete.

At the conclusion of these remarks a Resolution, expressing the deep sensibility of the Society on receiving this bequest, was unanimously adopted, and Dr. Ellis was requested to

prepare a suitable statement for the Proceedings, which is here printed : —

Our President has assigned to me a grateful office, which I gladly discharge, in asking me to furnish for our records a recognition of the gift made to this Society in the deposit with us of valuable papers by the late Miss Eliza Susan Quincy.

Apart from the intrinsic value of the papers themselves, they would be appreciated as of interest for us because they are the results of the diligent, intelligent, and well-applied labor, continued for more than half a century, of a lady in an elevated station of life, of remarkable endowments, of most gracious and attractive manners, and who enjoyed rare opportunities of acquaintance and converse with many important events and incidents, and with persons of high distinction in both public and private life. Those of us who have been longest in the membership of this Society have felt that though the name of Miss Quincy could not, according to our usage, be upon our rolls, she was really associated with us in the higher relation of a patron. Her venerated father was so long our Nestor, the family name was so familiar in all our local history, and so worthily distinguished on the scroll of patriotism and varied public service, that her own inheritance from them and her special tastes and interests might well make her an invisible attendant on our monthly meetings. Her lengthened and highly privileged life was devoted with a singular earnestness to a special range of historical and biographical studies and writings.

The privilege of correspondence and intimacy of personal acquaintance with her, enjoyed by some of us, will ever keep in our remembrance the deep impressions of respect and esteem which her character, her culture, and the delightful charm of her old-school manners, refined, tranquil, and yet so animated, always inspired. One who would see her needed to seek her in the home sphere which she made us feel, rather than asserted, was the place of a woman. That term for her sex, sufficient in dignity for all who worthily bear it, naturally drew to it the prefix of *gentle* as becoming her own way of manifesting it. Yet it must be said that her home was one where were gathered and concentrated resources and influences for

the development and training of mind and character in all attainments and accomplishments, which in ordinary experience are found in the open range of the world only by wide and judicious intercourse. The national, civic, and academic offices filled by her father, whose sternness in fidelity and integrity won for him the epithet "Roman;" the honored traditions of her family represented in their generations by their portraits and relics; and the selectest social intimates frequenting the successive city dwellings and the paternal country mansion of the household, — gave to the eldest child of a noble stock on both sides a home which brought to her all that was requisite for training and enriching the finest gifts of nature. She once told me how often she read and reperused the novels of Samuel Richardson. She could have written and lived all that was best and most graceful in his selectest pages.

There are two classes of papers which come to us in the two trunks committed to our care by Miss Quincy. In the one are three manuscript volumes from her own pen. Of these, two, well bound and in cases provided by her, in which she enjoins that they remain, are filled with miscellaneous materials collected by her patient and industrious investigations for illustrating the history of her own family. By correspondence abroad and by researches made at her prompting, she traces the antecedent lineage in Europe of her first ancestor on this soil. Elaborate pedigrees, with noble affiliations illustrated by armorial bearings and seals, are the evidences of the chastened and not inordinate satisfaction which she derived from following through centuries a name known only by distinctions and honors connected with it. Incidentally to this matter in her pages she has copied extracts from authorities and books, showing a very wide and discriminating acquaintance with a considerable compass of literature furnishing information appropriate to her subject. When she takes up the history of her family as represented by the first comer of it to this colony in 1633, and ever since identified with the occupancy of territory now giving name to a municipality, she exhibits all the persistency, thoroughness, and well-rewarded results of the best-skilled and most conscientious digester of old parchments and papers, identifying places, securing just the scrap and relic which she needed, and engaging neighbors

like John Adams and his son to aid her in a labor the full intent of which she kept wholly to herself. For there is a charming feminine revelation in a record made by her, that "none of the gentlemen of the family" knew how she was engaged. Evidently jealous, too, as she might well be, of her own individuality in her work, I find inscribed on an introductory page this attestation from her honored mother:—

"Having witnessed the commencement, progress, and conclusion of these 'Memoirs,' I think it due to my daughter, Eliza S. Quincy, to bear this testimony to the fidelity of her statement concerning them. The work was undertaken and completed during the years 1822-23, without the assistance of any person, except constant encouragement and occasional criticism from me.

"ELIZA S. QUINCY.

"QUINCY, Oct. 20, 1826."

Of course this certificate must be understood as applying to the work which Miss Quincy had accomplished up to the time of its date, more than half a century ago. The well-filled volumes of manuscript contain additional materials inserted up to very near the close of her life. Her secret had transpired. Some of us will recall that on our always pleasant visits to her, if, in her discernment, she were sure that her guest would appreciate the favor, she would produce the volumes, and even let them pass from her own hands, that we might read the precious autograph letters of Washington, Franklin, Adams, Hancock, and others of renown, addressed to her grandfather and great-grandfather, and other original papers of import. All beside these autographs and official papers was from her own pen; and she is careful to caution us lest the natural changes in her chirography during more than half a century should lead to the inference that other hands than her own had written on her pages. Her own skilful pencil has drawn vividly many scenes and objects, — of landscape and dwelling, of the Adams and Quincy and other mansions, Penn's Hill, harbor views, etc., — so fondly endeared to her. Much material of instruction and delight might be selected from these manuscripts, nor has the donor prohibited such use of them.

The third manuscript volume contains a "Journal of Lafayette's Visit, 1824-25." Miss Quincy's father, being Mayor

of Boston at the time when Lafayette was coming hither as "the nation's guest," had addressed to him a letter of warm invitation to our hospitalities. This, with the cordial reply to it from Paris, opens this volume. Then, with all the charm and dignity of her pen in narration and description, Miss Quincy, who was ever in a favored place, as helping hostess, witness, sharer, and part in all the pageantry, hospitality, and ceremonial of the occasion, listener, observer, and skilled reporter, daily entered the delightful incidents on her record. Her father's correspondence with Lafayette after his return, and other related matter, with excerpts from newspapers, orders of exercises at Bunker Hill, etc., enrich the volume. This is probably as full, adequate, and tasteful a narrative of some beautiful holiday scenes, in private and public among us, as is extant here. The late Hon. Josiah Quincy was privileged to make some extracts from his sister's Journal in his pleasant publication called "Figures of the Past."

The other papers consigned to our care by Miss Quincy are principally manuscripts from the pen of her grandfather, known as Josiah Quincy, Jr., — that eminent, beloved, and trusted patriot, the glory of our Revolutionary epoch, cut off on the ocean in the flower of his life, as he was within three days' sail of his home; and with whom perished not only one who was bearing important secret information to his fellow patriots, but one who was the idol of their affections. Very pathetic even to the touch is the original letter in this collection, dictated in his last hours by the devoutly resigned sufferer to a friendly seaman. His Journal and Letters, written during his brief visit to England, and much family correspondence, mainly used by his son in the published Memoir of Josiah Quincy, Jr. (first edition in 1825, second in 1874), are in the collection. Besides these, are the original manuscript of the "Observations on the Boston Port Bill, by J. Q., Jr., Boston, May 14, 1774," and that of "Instructions to the Representatives of Boston, May 15, 1770." A large number of notes of the legal cases and business which crowded the professional career of an ardent lover and worker for the right and the good, complete this inventory.

The following injunction is inscribed by Miss Quincy on the inner cover of one of her volumes: —

"A knowledge of the dangers to which Manuscripts are liable in the possession of private individuals, has caused me to consign to the care of the Massachusetts Historical Society these two volumes, containing Memoirs of Josiah Quincy, Jr., of 1775, and of his ancestors and family, collected and written by me, with a request that they may remain permanently in their Library, in the case I have prepared for them, and that no person may ever be allowed to borrow them.

"ELIZA SUSAN QUINCY.

"5 PARK STREET, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS,
April 26, 1870."

Mr. Uriel H. Crocker, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and General George W. Cullum, U.S.A., was chosen a Corresponding Member.

The President mentioned that he had received a letter from the Rev. George W. Blagden, D.D., who, having removed to New York, had ceased to be a Resident Member, but had been nominated by the Council for the Corresponding Roll.

Mr. YOUNG then said: —

After the necklace which belonged to "Mumbet" was presented to our Society at its last meeting,¹ I made inquiries to ascertain whether she was identical with Elizabeth Freeman, who was a negro woman of extraordinary intelligence, and whose manumission in 1783, it has been believed, was the first fruit of the declaration in the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, "that all men are born free and equal," and led to the abolition of slavery in this State.² I was informed by Mr. William Minot that she was the same person, and that her name originated in this way: Elizabeth, Betsey, Bet; then Madam Bet, the prefix having been given by her fellow servants, out of respect to her capability and character; then Marm Bet, which was contracted by the children in the family to Mumbet.

¹ See *ante*, p. 3.

² This statement is made in the "New American Cyclopædia," vol. xiv. p. 487. Chief Justice Gray, of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, however, in a communication to this Society, April 16, 1874, read the minutes of the trial of Nathaniel Jennison for an assault on Quock Walker, in 1781, of which Dr. Belknap said, "This decision was a mortal wound to slavery in Massachusetts" (1 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 203), and that it "put an end to the idea of slavery in this State" (5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. p. 403). See also "Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts," by George H. Moore, LL.D., New York, 1866, pp. 210, ff.

Mr. Minot has also sent to our Library a pamphlet entitled "Restoration of Natural Rights," written with much ability and vigor by Henry Dwight Sedgwick, second son of Judge Sedgwick, and published in New York in 1831, which is interesting as one of the early articles on the practicability of abolishing African slavery in this country. In this pamphlet are detailed many particulars relating to the life and liberation of the domestic slave above mentioned, who was considered a remarkable person in Berkshire, and who died at a very advanced age, greatly beloved and lamented.

A picture of Mum Bet, which was taken in 1811, accompanies this pamphlet, and is presented to our Cabinet by Miss Maria B. Sedgwick. It was painted by her mother, Mrs. Theodore Sedgwick, the wife of the oldest son of Judge Sedgwick, who was a lady of great accomplishments, and well known to her contemporaries as the author of some charming tales. It adds much to the interest attaching to the keepsake which we have already received, that we now have this miniature likeness of the wearer and this historical account of her. I beg leave to propose that the thanks of the Society be tendered to Miss Sedgwick and Mr. Minot for their acceptable gifts.

The motion was adopted.

Dr. ELLIS read a letter from the bursar of Emmanuel College, in Cambridge, England, stating that it was proposed to commemorate John Harvard by a full-length figure of him in one of the windows of the College Chapel, and asking for suggestions in regard to a representation of Harvard himself.

Dr. GREEN, in presenting a copy of William Nadir's Almanack for the year 1743, which contained many manuscript notes in the margin, some of them of local interest, said : —

This almanac has been in the possession of my family for several generations, and it is only recently that I have been enabled to identify the handwriting and establish beyond doubt the name of the original owner. The following entry is made among the notes, under date of March 2 : —

"Peter Fanuil Esq^r dyed of a complication of diseases, a very fat squat man, & has bin Exceeding charitable amogst us, and a great Loss in this Towⁿ."

Again, under date of March 10:—

“M^r Peter Faneuil Esq^r burried a very Large funeral went roūd y^e Town house gaue us gloues at y^e funeral but sent y^e gloues on y^e 11. day. his Coffin couer[d] wth black velvet, & plated wth y^ellow plates.”

In the first volume (page 73) of the Proceedings, it is recorded that the gift of “A MS. Journal of a Gentleman in Boston, from the year 1729 to the year 1749, from Mr. Joshua Green,” was made to this Society on July 29, 1794. The person presenting it was my great-grandfather; and with the laudable curiosity of a dutiful descendant I set about an examination of the manuscript, which consisted of three folio volumes made up mostly of items about the weather. There are entries here and there of some interest, but generally they are of a meteorological character. All the internal evidence goes to show that the Journal was kept by Benjamin Walker, Jr.; and not only is the handwriting identical with that in the almanac, but often the expressions are very similar, leaving no doubt that it was Walker who made the marginal notes. He refers as follows to the benefactor of the town of Boston, and mentions a physical peculiarity not generally known:—

“Thursday 3. [March, 1743.] Peter Fanuil Esq^r between 2 & 3 a clock in y^e afternoon dyed of a dropsical complyca, he was a fat squat Lame [man,] hip short went with high heeld shoe (In my opinion a great loss too This Town aged 42. 8 m) & I think by what I haue hear’d has done more Charitable deeds than any man y^e euer liv’d in this Town & for whom I am very sorry.

“March 10. Peter Fanuil Esq^r burried. Bearers Mess^{rs} Tom Lechmere Josh. Winslow Jn^o Wheelwright And. Oliuer Jn^o Gooch Jn^o Wendall went round y^e Town house

“Thursda 10. Burried Peter Faneuil Esq^r in 43^d year of age a fatt corpulen brown squat man hip short lame frō childhood.”

Benjamin Walker, Jr., the writer of this Journal, was the son of Benjamin and Palsgrave Walker, and born in Boston on Jan. 24, 1679–80. He was a shopkeeper, and associated in business with his younger brother John. His family is mentioned in Sewall’s Diary (vol. iii. pp. 371, 372); and additional facts concerning it are given in “The New England Historical and Genealogical Register” (vol. xv. pp. 53, 54). I have

but little doubt that he was a kinsman of Isaac Walker, the partner of my great-great-grandfather, Joshua Green, and that these papers came through this mercantile connection. Their firm were extensive owners in a tract of land, known as "the Green and Walker grant," and comprising a large part of the present towns of Heath and Rowe, in Franklin County of this State.¹ The sons of these partners, Joshua Green, Jr., and Edward Walker, after the dissolution of their fathers' firm by death, kept up the same business, under the same style of Green and Walker; and this fact undoubtedly explains the drift of the Journal and this little pamphlet.

The almanac bears on the titlepage the name of William Nadir as the author, and to it are appended the mysterious letters L. X. Q. It is well known that this name was the pseudonym of Dr. William Douglass, a Scotchman by birth, who came to Boston in the early days of his professional career. He had received his medical instruction in Paris and Leyden, and was a man of good education and many accomplishments, though of a peculiar disposition that kept him continually in controversy. It was wittily said of him once that he was always positive and sometimes accurate. He was well versed in the natural sciences, and much interested in astronomy.

Dr. Douglass opposed strenuously, both by tongue and pen, the introduction of small-pox inoculation, though he lived to modify his views on this subject. He took up his abode at Boston in the year 1718, at which time he was the only physician here who had received the Doctorate of Medicine.

He writes, under date of Feb. 20, 1720-21, to his compatriot, Dr. Cadwallader Colden who had settled at New York, also in the year 1718:—

"You complain of the practice of Physick being undervalued in your parts and with reason; we are not much better in that respect in this place; we abound with Practitioners, though no other graduate than myself, we have fourteen Apothecary shops in Boston; all our Practitioners dispense their own medicines."²

Dr. Douglass appears to have been fairly successful as a physician, and in a little more than two years after the date

¹ Holland's History of Western Massachusetts, vol. ii. pp. 382, 419.

² 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 164.

of this letter he was the owner of a large tract of land in Worcester County, which is now included within the limits of Douglas, — a town named after him, though the final *s* is dropped. In the year 1735 he was one of a small number of persons who formed a medical society in Boston, the first association of the kind in the country.

In a letter written by him to the assessors of the town of Boston, and dated April 23, 1747, he says: —

“Further I may observe to you that I am or Soon must be in the Decline of Human life: therefore do not endeavor to increase my Fortune, having no family to provide for: but shall yearly lessen it, by dooing charities in my life time by donations and bounties.”¹

I have been thus explicit with Dr. Douglass’s affairs in order to show that it is not improbable that he was the “certain gentleman of the town of Boston,” alluded to in the printed Journal of the House of Representatives, July 7, 1739, and about whom a query was raised by our Corresponding Member, Mr. Moore, of New York, in a letter to the President of this Society,² written two years ago.

The entry in the Journal is as follows: —

“Information being given to the House by the Member from Worcester, that a certain Gentleman of the Town of Boston, [was] well disposed for the Encouragement and Support of a Professor of Physick within this Province, and for that good Purpose would chearfully contribute out of his own Estate a considerable Sum of Money, provided this Court will join therein in making a Grant of Lands, or otherwise establish a good Fund for the valuable Ends aforesaid; and the same being considered;

“*Ordered*, That the members of Boston, Charlestown, Roxbury, and Chelsea be a Committee to treat with the Gentleman, hear him on his Proposals, and report their Opinion of what may be proper to be done for the encouragement of so good a Scheme.”

The member from Worcester who brought the subject before the House was Colonel John Chandler, and as Dr. Douglass was a large land-owner in Worcester County it is not unlikely that Colonel Chandler knew him personally. This fact, I am aware, has but little weight, but I mention it for

¹ The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, vol. civ. p. 538: June 8, 1881.

² Proceedings, vol. xix. p. 250.

what it is worth; and in the absence of positive testimony it would seem as probable as not, that Dr. Douglass was the "certain gentleman of the town of Boston," who offered to endow a medical professorship at that time. The offer, however, does not seem to have been accepted, as no further trace of it is found in the proceedings of the House, or elsewhere. This attempt is by no means the earliest one in Massachusetts to promote medical education, as Mr. Moore supposes. Nearly a century before this time Giles Firmin, a man learned in medicine, had given instruction in this branch of science. The apostle Eliot, under date of Sept. 24, 1647, writes to Mr. Shepard, the minister of Cambridge, and expresses the desire that —

"Our young Students in Physick may be trained up better than yet they bee, who have onely theoretticall knowledge, and are forced to fall to practise before ever they saw an Anatomy made, or duely trained up in making experiments, for we never had but one Anatomy in the Countrey, which Mr. *Giles Firman* (now in England) did make and read upon very well, but no more of that now."¹

An anatomy is the old name for a skeleton; and Mr. Firmin may be considered, in point of time, the first medical lecturer in the country. His instruction, doubtless, was crude, and comprised little more than informal talks about the dry bones before him; but even this was a great help to the learners. At any rate, it seems to have excited an interest in the subject; for the recommendation is made at the session of the General Court, beginning Oct. 27, 1647, a few weeks later than the date of Eliot's letter, that—

"We conceive it very necessary y^t such as studies physick, or chirurgery may have liberty to reade anotomy & to anotomize once in foure yeares some malefacto^r in case there be such as the Courte shall allow of."²

Edward Johnson, in his "Wonder-Working Providence" (London, 1654), written about the year 1650, describes Harvard College at a period near that time, and says that "some help hath been had from hence in the study of Physick" (page 165). It is very likely that Cambridge was the place

¹ 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 57.

² General Court Records, vol. ii. p. 175.

where Giles Firmin had "read upon" or lectured on his skeleton.

Even much earlier than this, at the very planting of the colony, attention had been given to the need of physicians and the importance of medical knowledge. In the first general letter of instruction to Governor Endicott and his Council, from the Governor and Deputy of the New England Company, dated Gravesend, April 17, 1629, it is written, —

"Wee haue entertained Lambert Wilson, Chirurgion to remaine [with] yo" in the service of the plantaçon, wth whom wee are agreed that hee shall serve this Companie and the other Planters that li[ve] in the Plantaçon for 3 yeares, and in that tyme, apply himself to cure but also for the Indians, as from tyme to ty[me] hee shalbe directed not only of such as came from hence for the geñall an[d] pticuler accompts by yo'selfe o' yo' successo' & the rest of the Councell; And moreover hee is to educate & instruct in his Art one or more youths, such as yo" and the said Councell shal[l] appoint that may bee helpfull to him and if occasion serve succeed him in the Plantaçon, w^{ch} youth or youths fitt to learn that pfession lett bee placed wth him, of w^{ch} M^r Hugessons Sonne if his father approue thereof may bee one, the rather because hee h[ath] bin trayned vp in litterature, but if not hee then such other as yo" shall iudg most fittest &c." ¹

Here we have the germs of a medical school, which, to be sure, did not fructify at once. But who shall say that they were not fostered and kept alive during this long series of years, in a regular line of descent, under the various and varying fortunes of the colony and province, and finally developed into the noble institution known to-day as the Harvard Medical School? Whatever other responsibilities may rest upon the shoulders of the founders of Massachusetts, or whatever other faults may be charged to their account, it cannot be said that they were unmindful, in theory at least, of the liberal benefits that accrue from the school of rational medicine.

Mr. T. C. AMORY communicated the following paper: —

It is desirable to have in print, where conscientious historians may find it, any information we may possess to explain

¹ Suffolk Deeds, lib. i. p. xii.

what, unexplained, may work injustice. The secret journal of Sir Henry Clinton, now in process of publication in the "Magazine of American History," is an important contribution to the material of our Revolutionary annals. Such journals are liable, from their character, to convey erroneous impressions; and regard for the memory of the dead and the happiness of the living imposes a duty upon societies like our own, to set right what may affect reputation. Present generations, more familiar with events comparatively recent, may be better able to prevent mistakes creeping into history than those that follow them.

Daniel Sullivan, the elder brother of General John Sullivan of the Continental army, and of James, one of the founders and the first president of this Society, during the War for Independence commanded a force of minute-men, about one hundred in number, raised near his home in Sullivan, on the east shore of Frenchman's Bay, opposite Mount Desert. They protected the neighborhood from depredation, became aggressive when there was cause, and formed an excellent school for recruits for the army. They took part in the attack on Castine in 1779, and rendered on other occasions efficient service. Soon after, the execution of André provoking a feeling of resentment and a disposition to retaliate, the frigate "Allegiance," in February, 1781, landed a party at night on the shore near Daniel's dwelling, at Waukeag Point. They surrounded his house while he was sleeping, cast into the snow his wife and children, burnt the buildings, and carried him prisoner to Castine.

Declining the usual proffers of rank and reward if he would swear allegiance to the crown, he was sent to New York, and committed to the Jersey Hulks. These prison ships were noted for their foulness, and few came out from them alive. Daniel, accustomed to the pure air and freedom of his farm, anxious for his family left shelterless, their home in ashes, lost health and spirits, and was naturally eager for deliverance. While thus confined, Stephen Holland, at one time clerk of the Hillsborough County Courts in New Hampshire, who had left the State in 1778 under suspicion of disaffection, who had then gone to New York, and was now a major in the British army, went to see him. As before the war he had known General Sullivan, whose extensive professional practice carried

him into the different counties, he visited Daniel, perhaps of his own motion, or he may have been sent by his superior officers. Having heard Daniel's story and witnessed his distress, he procured for him, from Clinton, permission to visit his brother John, then a member of Congress at Philadelphia, to effect his exchange.

General Sullivan was then serving a second term in the Congress. From September, 1774, to June, 1775, he had taken an active part in that body, in organizing resistance to the encroachments of the British Government upon the just rights of the colonies. With Washington he joined the army besieging Boston, in July, 1775, and with General Greene served as Brigadier-General under General Lee, who commanded the left wing. During the following winter the Connecticut line, its period of enlistment ended, went home; and his efforts and influence were largely instrumental in replacing them with two thousand troops from his own State. After Howe evacuated Boston, in March, 1776, General Sullivan was sent to Canada, and there extricated our army, weakened by disease, from their perilous position, the force opposed to them being greatly superior. Recalled to New York, now Major-General, with McDougal and Lord Sterling as his brigadiers, they did what they could with five thousand men, to withstand four-fold their numbers, and, with Sterling, Sullivan was taken prisoner.

Exchanged for Prescott, he was honorably noticed in general orders for his services in West Chester, and after Lee's capture in December marched his troops to join Washington on the Delaware. A few days afterwards he took part as commander of the right wing in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. He made, in August, an attack at night on Staten Island, which a court of inquiry decided deserved the approbation of the country. At the battle of the Brandywine, in command of the right wing, he was opposed, with five thousand men, to double their force, whom he kept for two hours at bay, — for half that time, to use his own expression, muzzle to muzzle. Again at Germantown he commanded on the right, and drove the enemy opposed to him, when fog and smoke and mistakes in other parts of the field led to retreat. The army then went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, where he was engaged in building a bridge over the Schuylkill.

Ordered to Rhode Island towards the spring of 1778, as the welcome intelligence arrived of the treaty of alliance with France, he commanded, at the siege of Newport, ten thousand men, whom he helped in raising to co-operate with D'Estaing and his fleet. The appearance of a large British naval force drew out the French fleet to pursue them. The fleet, shattered by the storm and partial conflicts, returned only to announce the necessity of their going to Boston to refit. The American army, diminished by the departure home of the militia and volunteers whose term of enlistment had expired, withdrew to Butt's Hill, at the north end of the island. There, and on the way, was fought, on the 29th of August, what Lafayette pronounced the best-fought battle of the war. It began at about seven in the morning, and lasted, with little intermission, if any, till four in the afternoon, ending in a bayonet charge which drove the enemy to their intrenchments on Quaker Hill and Anthony's. The British loss that day exceeded one thousand men, the troops engaged being about six thousand on each side.

The following year Sullivan commanded an expedition of four thousand men into Western New York. One object was to punish the Indian tribes for their atrocities at Wyoming and along the frontier, and deter them from repetition; another was to open the paths for the invasion of Canada if D'Estaing returned in season to co-operate. D'Estaing was belated in the West Indies, made a hurried and unsuccessful attack on Savannah, and returned wounded to France. Sullivan, by an accident and the exposures in the campaign, had become incapacitated for the time for active service, and resigned from the army as the year closed. The letter of Washington in reply to the communication of his resignation testified to the high estimate he held of Sullivan's services in the army.

He was slowly recovering from serious illness when, without his knowledge and against his wishes, as his family needed his professional services for their support, he was chosen a delegate again to the Congress. Among other duties which devolved upon him, he was directed and empowered to defend the title of New Hampshire to fifty or more townships of land east of the Connecticut. New York claimed them, as she did Vermont, as part of her domain, and sent four of her ablest advocates to urge her rights. After twenty arguments of the

cause before Congress, Sullivan succeeded in securing the townships for his State. From his long experience in the field, he was able to institute many useful reforms in the army, as also in other departments of the public service. He took an active part on the committees for furnishing means for the war by improving the currency, restoring credit, inducing the State to impose taxes, and procuring loans and subsidies.

These measures took months to mature; and as they were becoming ripe for adoption, the Continental currency reached its last stages of collapse. In various places occurred popular demonstrations of discontent, and on the 6th of May, 1781, the day Daniel Sullivan reached Philadelphia, similar disturbances took place in its public streets. That night, as he was supping with his brother, Daniel gave him a letter from Major Holland. Its contents, as it was immediately destroyed, are only known by what John told Luzerne a few days after. It is reasonable to presume that one principal subject of Holland's letter was Daniel's exchange or liberation. But he took occasion after complimenting the general upon his intelligence and talents, and the high esteem in which he was held by the English, to add that they regarded him as the fittest man to negotiate a reconciliation between the mother country and the English colonies; that they wished him to make known his sentiments on the subject; that all overtures on his part would be received with the consideration which they deserved; that he had only to state his wishes; that the person who wrote to him was fully empowered to open a special negotiation with him, and he might count upon the profoundest secrecy. Such a proposal of secret correspondence with the enemy so soon after Arnold's defection might well have aroused his indignation as a reflection upon his good sense as well as upon his honor. He burnt the letter before the face of Daniel, and begged him to tell those that sent him that their overtures had been received with the deepest scorn.

Still eager to effect Daniel's liberation, John wrote Holland an answer to his letter and gave it to his brother to carry to him. But upon reflection, lest it should compromise Daniel or be misconstrued, he sent next morning for him, as he was taking his departure for New York, and took the letter away, saying he would find some other means to communicate it to Holland. What John said in this interview as Daniel was

starting on his journey, in the midst of John's various engagements, in a place subject to interruption and open to observation, Daniel might well have misunderstood. In his desire to save his brother from captivity and not to wound his sensitiveness by want of cordiality, John's words might have been construed to mean more than he ever thought of attaching to them.

Some ten days later, after Daniel's return to New York, Holland drew up the paper purporting to give an account of what took place between the brothers in Philadelphia. If in the intervening period John had been heard from, the declaration would not have been needed. Its obvious object was to obtain Daniel's deliverance, and this by representing John as "having good intentions towards the English." It abounds in improbabilities and exaggerations, and distorts language, possibly uttered in other connections and susceptible of very different explanation, into an import inconsistent with the whole tenor of John's previous life and his subsequent conduct. For no sooner had Daniel taken his departure than John went to Luzerne, the French minister, the last person he would have selected for his confidant if he had entertained any disloyal intentions, and told him all that had taken place, with some slight reserve as to what might compromise Daniel as an American officer or a British prisoner. He may have related the circumstances also to his friends in Congress, or to that body; but of this we have no evidence. His whole language to Luzerne, as set forth in that minister's letter to Vergennes, dated May 13, the following Sunday, was that of a man of honor and of too much good sense, knowingly, to be placed in a false position.

Sullivan was under obligation to Luzerne. When, in 1774, at the age of thirty-four, he went to the Congress, he had already accumulated, by his professional labors and judicious investments, ten thousand pounds. For seven years he had been constantly in the public service, civil or military, and he continued in it as long as he lived. His property depreciated; he was considerate of his debtors; he had a family to support. For the last three years of his military service, although in command of separate departments, he had received in all fifteen hundred dollars for his pay and expenses, besides rations; the last year but forty dollars, as indicated by the paymaster's

account. One hundred dollars had been advanced to him in 1780 by New Hampshire towards defraying his travelling expenses to Congress. His means speedily exhausted, he wrote to Weare, president of the State, for remittances. His letter, intercepted, was carried to New York and printed in the "Gazette." It came thus to the knowledge of Luzerne, who of his own accord offered him a loan of what was equivalent to a year's pay at a dollar a day, or seventy guineas. This may have actuated his choice of a confidant when puzzled as to what was best to be done in May, 1781.

The acceptance of this loan in his need has been censured. But Sullivan was on friendly terms with Luzerne. France was our ally, with no conflicting interests. Six weeks later, when the Pennsylvania line, with its pay long in arrears, became disaffected, a committee composed of Sullivan, Witherspoon, and Matthews, went to confer with Governor Reed of that State. Sullivan wrote to Luzerne an account of what had taken place, from Trenton, Jan. 13, 1781. His letter closed with the following postscript:—

"One circumstance ought not to be omitted, which in my opinion does the insurgents much honor. When they delivered up the British emissaries, Governor Reed offered them a hundred golden guineas, which they refused, saying that what they did was only a duty they owed to their country, and that they neither wanted nor would receive any reward but the approbation of that country for which they had so often fought and bled."

He would hardly have thus written to Luzerne if the loan made to him seven weeks before had been tainted for either by any thought of corruption; and some of the most honorable men in the country, presidents of historical societies, have placed on record their sense of its entire propriety.

The Government owed him six thousand dollars for pay and advances while in the army. Though the whole sum was finally paid him, fifteen hundred only was voted, July 31, 1781; and of this the public treasury could spare, for several months, but two hundred. His friends were busily engaged in bringing about a more cordial feeling between himself and Burke, of North Carolina, who were still at variance about the battle of Brandywine, four years before. Burke thought that Sulli-

van's five thousand men in the right wing should have subdued twice or thrice that number of British veterans, who were far better armed and equipped. Probably neither of them allowed any personal feeling to interfere with his public functions; but, as they were constantly on the same committees, it seemed better they should make peace. This was effected by General McDougal and Mr. Shiel at this very time; the former's letter, giving an account of their reconciliation, bearing date the 22d of May. It is difficult to believe that any one, even if generally actuated by selfish considerations, would have incurred the risk of forfeiting the esteem of his associates, on whose good opinion so much depended, by any questionable proceedings.

Daniel at an early age had joined his wife's kinsfolk and neighbors, the Beans, Gordons, Hammonds, Plaisdells, and Prebles, in procuring a grant of thirty thousand acres, — now Hancock and Sullivan, on Frenchman's Bay, — and on a farm three or four miles south of the present principal settlement was extensively engaged in sawing lumber. Not originally so well educated as his three brothers, who were bred to the bar and were all successful lawyers, he may have been less sensitive to John's public obligations and the consequences of their violation. The transactions of Congress were manifold in their nature, and recorded in separate journals. One of them for foreign affairs was secret, as also another for domestic; but those entered on the public journal were generally known. What transpired in Philadelphia soon found its way to New York; and it may have had it in mind in signing the declaration.

His anxiety was not without cause. Public opinion in England clamored for retribution for the execution of André. The Government lost temper at their ill success; their prisoners were sent to England, and there, as here, subjected to inexcusable barbarities. The brutal murder of Colonel Hayne in August had already been preceded by like atrocities, which at this time or soon after justified the appropriation of the Simsbury Mines in Connecticut for a prison house. Daniel's principal concern was to regain his freedom, of which he had been unwarrantably deprived, while he might, and go home to the protection of his family. His brother, conscious of his own integrity, which had never been impeached, might well have

risked reputation for such an object, though nothing would have tempted him to forfeit his honor.

The declaration drawn up by Holland to effect this object by conveying the impression of John's good intentions to the Crown, may have been influenced by a wish to range John on his own side of the contest. Both Holland and Clinton probably knew of the overtures to peace communicated by Vergennes from Paris sixty days before. Independence even to them must have seemed assured; and an influential friend like General Sullivan might save Holland in that event from the exile which ended in his death in Ireland as the war closed. There is no evidence or reason to suppose, however, that General Sullivan in any way authorized Holland to misrepresent his dispositions towards England, or did aught to save Daniel except through the legitimate channels of exchange.

Four years before, Judge Livius, also a refugee loyalist from New Hampshire, wrote him a letter of like character to that of Holland. Many of the leaders were similarly approached, but Arnold was almost the solitary instance of defection. In burning Holland's letter when he received it, General Sullivan had expressed himself in terms sufficiently explicit of his indignation. If the next morning, as alleged in the declaration, Daniel said that what Holland wished was information as to the transactions of Congress and advice as to what steps to take, and that he might name his own terms, John certainly did not agree to give either. In his kindly feeling towards his brother, at what was to prove their last parting, he probably did not think any repetition of what he had said the night before called for. If he used such phrases as set forth in the declaration, "that he was sorry it was too late," "that he would ride a hundred miles to see Holland and learn his views about politics," "that he would seek an occasion for sending Daniel to him," which is very problematical, they were quite likely used in some other connection, and fell short of any proof or reasonable evidence of any agreement to do aught inconsistent with his existing obligations.

He did not lose sight of the important consideration as to how much Daniel's safety depended upon Holland's kind offices. Holland's disposition towards himself seemed friendly, and he may have made some allowance for what was dishonoring in the proposal of terms. He may have considered, as

suggested to Luzerne a few days after, the opportunity too favorable not to be improved for procuring information of the enemy's designs and movements. This idea, if entertained, soon yielded to the counsels of Luzerne and his own reflection on its imprudence. These various reasons explain why, if the declaration be a true account of what took place in Philadelphia when they parted, which does not seem probable, John did not again resent the proposition of Clinton and Holland, through Daniel, when repeated that morning, in terms more indignant.

Luzerne's letter to Vergennes, dated the 13th of May, shows plainly enough that he had no disloyal intentions. "It is fortunate for his memory that these two documents—one from England, the other from France, each giving one side of the same transaction, each separately brought back to America about a century after their dates—should so completely explain each other:" showing that General Sullivan was neither corrupt nor disloyal; that under circumstances peculiarly trying his conduct was that of an honest man and affectionate brother; and that he was sensible enough to guard his reputation from the misconstructions and misrepresentations of those who might seek to defame it, by making the minister of France his confidant and the official correspondence the depository of his abundant justification. Clinton, like Walpole, thought every man had his price; but it was proved over and over again during the Revolution that this was not true of the American leaders.

As there is no evidence or reason to suppose that John ever gave information or advice to the enemy; as there were but fifteen days, from the 7th to the 22d of May, 1781, when there was the slightest possibility that he should have had any chance or temptation to do so, and during all this period he was busily engaged with the most honorable gentlemen of Congress, in public affairs taking a leading part in debate and on committees, and on the 26th placed on the Committee for Peace, from which Luzerne, who had the best means of knowing him, might have easily had him excluded by denouncing him, if he had any ground of suspecting his integrity; as the declaration is susceptible of easy explanation without any impeachment of his honor or reputation, — we think no conscientious writer on American history, having

improved all the sources of information that are accessible, as our Proceedings must always be, can upon the evidence honestly question his loyalty and fidelity to all obligations.

The journals of Congress, his own correspondence, and the course of events testify strongly against the likelihood of his ever having in the slightest degree favorably entertained the temptations presented, or of their having been the slightest temptation to him. If he ever took them into his mind, upon the briefest reflection he must have repelled them without hesitation. If flattered at the thought of becoming the mediator of peace when the moment was ripe for such a consummation, he knew that to Congress and our representative at Paris had been committed all peace negotiations. The proposal of selfish inducements was simply an insult. He had been steadfast from the first to the cause of Independence, and he so continued till it was soon afterwards accomplished. For seven years he had been engaged in the conflict, had made for it as great sacrifices, and endured as great hardships, as any other of the patriots. He stood well in the public estimation and with the Congress. What object could he have had to throw away so honorable a record, when fleets and armies were gathering with such reasonable prospect of obtaining that for which they had so long been contending?

If he was ever in doubt as to the issues of the war, his duties were too absorbing to admit of any thought of discouragement. The journals of Congress, both public and private, exhibit the variety and extent of his occupations. Few of the members were more busily engaged or constantly called upon to do their part in debate or on committees. In October, 1780, he was employed with Madison and Duane in instructing Franklin and Jay to maintain the right of the United States to all the territory held by Great Britain recognized by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, including the navigation of the Mississippi. He had moved at that time that a letter should be addressed to the King of France, urging a more vigorous prosecution of the war. This letter, bearing date the 22d of November, was responded to by the king on the 9th of March, pledging himself to what was requested; his response reaching Philadelphia on the 22d of May, 1781.

In December, intelligence being received of the capture of

Henry Laurens, formerly president of the Congress, who had been sent out in July to negotiate a treaty with the States-General, and had been imprisoned on a charge of treason in the Tower, Sullivan moved that an envoy extraordinary should be sent to Paris to solicit the aids requested of the king. John Laurens, who had fought valiantly with him at Newport, and been seriously wounded with D'Estaing at the siege of Savannah, was chosen to go. It was indeed understood that the mission was especially ordered that he might do what he could to effect the release of his father. His mother, and a sister who became afterwards the wife of David Ramsay, the historian, in 1786 likewise president of the Congress, were in Paris. They were in the greatest affliction at the impending danger. Mr. Laurens, one of the most estimable and honored of the Revolutionary leaders, was greatly beloved by all who knew him. The harsh measures and menaces of the British Government naturally overwhelmed his family with the deepest distress.

It is well known how wisely the time was improved in plans for the campaign to come. Dr. Franklin and Vergennes, the king and young Laurens, at Versailles, on those Ides of March mornings, would make an interesting historical picture for some genius in art. Perhaps Neckar might be added to the group, distressed at the royal extravagance; Cornwallis, entering Virginia, pushing on to Yorktown; Clinton, embarking and disembarking his men, not knowing whether to go south or bring Cornwallis north; Lafayette, playing fast and loose, the more to puzzle them; Arnold, burning Virginia tobacco he could not carry off, and Connecticut churches he did not value enough to leave. To keep the bird from startling till De Grasse on the first of August, with the best regiments of France collected in the nooks and corners of the West Indies, should join Washington and Rochambeau, Barras and Lafayette, before the walls of Yorktown, depended on secrecy, punctuality, and chances so various that the slightest mistake might have proved disastrous. All went well; as one of the plotters, Sullivan made no mistakes. At the right moment the French fleets entered the Chesapeake; both Washington and Rochambeau were there.

In helping on this consummation, General Sullivan had an important part to perform in the Congress. The thirteen

colonies that had declared their independence in July, 1776, lay now exhausted. They were represented abroad by Dr. Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Henry Laurens, Francis Dana, Ralph Izzard. In executive offices were Sam Adams, Livingston, Cornell; while Washington, Gates, Greene, Sterling, Morgan, Wayne, Sumter, and Marion led in the armies. Several of the most honored, who had been members of the Congress, held high office in the States. Rarely as many as thirty attended Congress. This explains why so many duties devolved upon the few,—why Sullivan was chosen on so many committees. As the first on the list of the most northern State, in which order of precedence they were called upon to vote, Sullivan's was a responsible position to hold, for reasons sufficiently obvious. In military and naval affairs, in the Treasury and Foreign departments, there were few more able or willing. Langdon, President of Harvard, was his frequent correspondent on finance; and with Witherspoon, President of Princeton, he was associated in foreign and financial affairs. With Madison, Varnum, Matthews, Carroll, who served with him on many committees, he was constantly employed upon documents which elicited praise from the most renowned of European diplomatists.

With so few left to share the responsibilities of administration and perform its tasks, many functions naturally devolved on one who had formed part of the government from the beginning. He had his rights, not to abuse, but to use for the cause; and as a general he had been trained to respect the limits of authority too well to be likely to transgress them. If in suggesting to Luzerne the wisdom of using the opportunity presented by Clinton for procuring information, he claimed a larger discretion as one of the Government than he would have thought of exercising simply as a member of the Congress, allowance should be made for the singular condition of the Government of the time, having no head, carrying on a war almost partisan, and the people being almost equally divided.

Our struggle for independence was evidently not to go by default. Dependence on a nation alien in blood, language, and faith had its objections. The approach of the critical moment may have disturbed the settled views of many; but knowing from history what England meant by unconditional surrender, France as a friend and ally, if sometimes exacting, would be

preferable to the old oppression. There could have been no advantages, national or individual, which Britain could offer so acceptable as the independence assured by the great European combinations.

From the commencement of his term of service, the previous September, Sullivan, as mentioned, had taken an active part in devising measures for restoring the public credit and replenishing the exhausted treasury. In his correspondence he had consulted Washington as to the selection of Hamilton—who wrought in that department such wonders later—for Superintendent of Finance. Hamilton could not be spared from the army, and the choice fell on Robert Morris. Congress, in committee of the whole, had previously kept control of this branch of the public service as the Committee on Finance. But on the 8th of May, the day after his brother Daniel's departure from Philadelphia, General Sullivan moved that a committee of five be chosen to devise further ways and means to defray the expenses of the ensuing campaign, and to consider what further measures could be adopted for a better regulation of the public finances. Witherspoon, Sullivan, Smith, Clymer, and Rodney constituted this committee.

Two of their recommendations for redeeming the outstanding obligations, which were thought too considerate of the actual holders, met with little favor; but on the 14th Morris accepted the office of Superintendent of Finance, and on the 17th submitted his plan for the Bank of America. This, approved on the 26th, was referred to the committee "to furnish means for the campaign" to mature and carry out. On the 16th, Sullivan, from a special committee, reported the result of an inquiry into the management of the loan offices, and on the 22d his committee "to furnish means for the campaign" offered a resolution, which was accepted, that the war should be carried on upon a specie basis, and that rations be purchased by contract.

On the 21st Sullivan reported an order authorizing General Gates—then awaiting his trial by court-martial for Camden—to repair to head-quarters and take such command as the commander-in-chief should direct; and on the 25th, he reported another, directing the Board of War to take measures to send into New York and Charleston such quantities of tobacco as would discharge the arrears due from American prisoners then

in confinement, and to provide for their future support. As chairman of another committee, with Varnum and Bland, to whom had been referred the letter of Washington of the 20th of December, he submitted a rearrangement of the army, amounting to a reorganization. It is not proposed to claim for Sullivan any exclusive credit for these various measures. He did his part with the rest. He co-operated in all the principal reforms which, adopted when our fortunes seemed at their lowest ebb, proved the masterly moves on the chess-board which achieved independence. One of his earliest duties in Congress had been to secure Greene's appointment, whose masterly movements that very month had driven Cornwallis to his trap.

On the 22d Luzerne transmitted to Congress a letter from the king, expressing an intention to prosecute the war with the utmost vigor, and informed them that he had received despatches of great importance, which he should hasten to communicate when deciphered. On the 25th he informed Congress that the second division of the troops, commanded by Count de Rochambeau, could not be expected for the campaign; but measures had been taken to reinforce the army and expedite ships in force to enable the squadron at Newport to put to sea. The king had granted a subsidy of six million francs, and would enable Dr. Franklin to borrow four millions more. The following day another memorial from the minister announced certain overtures made by Great Britain for peace, through the mediation of the Empress of Russia and the Emperor of Germany, and declared that France was disposed to accept them on the basis of independence for the States; and advised that, while negotiating, the efforts against the enemy should be redoubled. He requested that a committee should be appointed to treat with him for the negotiation.

The committee, consisting of Carroll, Jones, Witherspoon, Sullivan, and Matthews, reported on the 28th and again on the 6th of June. They were engaged in the general direction of the preparations for many weeks, in framing commissions for Dr. Franklin, Henry Laurens, John Jay, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, the appointed commissioners, in determining boundaries and other stipulations, and in preparing the instructions for the action of Congress.

In these and similar duties Sullivan was busily engaged till

September, when, his year having expired and his successor having been elected the previous April, he went home to New Hampshire. He was there busily occupied in its administration, as major-general in organizing its troops, as attorney-general, as president of the State, or Federal judge, till his death in 1795. This rapid sketch of his public career seems important to be borne in mind in passing judgment upon the likelihood of his ever having swerved from loyalty to his country. It would seem harsh judgment, — even if it should prove that he ever wrote, to save his brother's life, to Holland of which no evidence appears that he ever did — that he should, after such devotion to the cause of Independence, be charged with either corruption or treason.

Judging by the periods it took for intelligence of a secret nature to pass between Philadelphia and New York, the information obtained must have been stale before it reached its destination. On the 16th of May the "Adventure," with nine hundred barrels of flour, was captured by the "Royal Oak," and carried into New York. It had a permit which covered part of its cargo or mail. One of Captain Beckwith's correspondents takes occasion to mention this neglect in a letter of the 19th of June, thirty-four days afterwards. It reached Beckwith only on the 1st of July, with despatches received in May from France. Its writer mentions subjects under debate in the assembly of his State, which indicate either New York or Pennsylvania as that to which he belonged.

In another letter of the 27th of June, 1781, from a gentleman of Philadelphia to Captain Beckwith, received by him also the first day of July, he speaks of a letter dated May the 30th. received on the 23d June. The correspondence could not have been brisk or profitable ; and in this particular instance the principal part of the information had long before been spread broadcast over the land, or forestalled by the press. There were times, during that eventful summer, when secret intelligence might have been precious, — for example, in the allied armies' circuit round New York, from Newport to Yorktown, — but what proved of most avail was the truth told by Washington and Rochambeau, which Clinton refused to believe. Leaks, when generals kept their own counsels, were unimportant. That much found in Clinton's secret journal was purposely designed to mislead him, seems obvious enough.

There is no evidence that any of the communications printed in the journal had come directly or indirectly from General Sullivan. We only argue that if they had, they betrayed no secret prejudicial to the cause of American independence when received by Clinton.

It was clearly a duty to his brother, cost what it might, to do all that he honorably could to save him in his peril from his imprisonment. He had no means to give him to rebuild his house, burnt without the slightest justification by the British; for the ashes of the Iroquois towns was a retaliation for Wyoming. Their brother James, then judge of the Supreme Bench of Massachusetts, had a large family and scanty means. If, to further Daniel's liberation, John expressed his wish for reconciliation on fair terms and reasonable guaranties, in case independence from reverses proved impossible, there was no treason in that. Daniel was soon exchanged or set free, and died on his way home. There is no evidence that John ever received any bribe or performed any service for the enemy. He was always true to the cause of Independence. Often a successful candidate for public office, no such reproach was ever flung at him or whispered. He retained to the end the confidence of Washington, Greene, Knox, Lafayette, and all the best of the patriots. The only key to Holland's declaration, signed by Daniel, in Clinton's journal, is that the plain truth was very much perverted for a purpose; that John was faithful to his brother; and that if he feigned more affection to the British than the infamous course of Clinton in his attempts to bribe inspired, his motive was to save Daniel from the pestilential vapors of the hulks and restore him to his wife and children.

Nothing is known to the prejudice of Daniel; but, on the contrary, much in his favor. Judged by his descendants, he was in every way worthy. He was hardly responsible for passages in the declaration to which exception is taken. It is signed by De Lancy, Daniel, and Holland. This does not look as if Daniel signed of his own free will, but from encouragement, perhaps coercion. Perhaps he smelt the blood of the shamle, and instinctively drew back. By threat or in apprehension of what later betided Hayne, he signed under duress of circumstance. It needs no casuistry to hold him blameless, to impeach the credibility of the declaration without question-

ing the truthfulness of his character. Formal oaths under such conditions are not binding in honor or conscience, and, extorted under threat, have no moral obligation.

The PRESIDENT then read an interesting letter, which he had received from the Count de Paris : —

SANLUCAR DE BARRAMEDA, 27. 1. 84.

DEAR SIR, — I received your kind letter six weeks ago, and was anxious to return at once my best thanks for your kind appreciation of my two last volumes on the Civil War, and for the way in which you spoke of my work before the Historical Society of Massachusetts. The praise of such a competent judge as you are is the only reward I wish for a work which I have undertaken for a twofold object: first, I must acknowledge, my personal satisfaction; for, although a great sportsman, I know no greater enjoyment than a quiet day devoted entirely to the pursuit of historical studies and the search for truth which is the first element of these studies; second, the payment of debt of gratitude to the people of the United States for the hospitality which the Government of the Republic gave my brother and myself in the ranks of its army at the time we were exiles from our own country.

Unfortunately, since last summer my work has been practically suspended. The death of the Comte de Chambord, which made such a change in my own situation, has brought upon my hands new and important duties, to the fulfilment of which I had to devote all my time. The sad news found me fighting the battle of the Wilderness, and since the eventful day on which I received these news I have left both armies standing without being able to bring the struggle to an end. More than this: I have not found time enough to write all the letters I had to write, and I had to wait till I came to spend a few weeks in this quiet place before I could answer your kind letter.

Please receive my best apologies, and believe me,

Yours truly,

PHILIPPE COMTE DE PARIS.

ROBERT WINTHROP, Esq.

The PRESIDENT afterwards read the following from the Secretary of the new Oxford Historical Society : —

BRASENOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD, ENGLAND,
Jan. 20, 1884.

DEAR SIR, — Many thanks indeed for your kind letter about the Oxford Historical Society. We really start with very fair prospects, and it is most encouraging to receive such letters from across the

Atlantic. Our first three volumes we really hope will be out towards the close of the year.

It is very good of you to promise to lay the Prospectus before the Council of so well-known a society as the Massachusetts Historical Society, whose publications I constantly see in the Bodleian.

I am, with thanks, very truly yours,

F. MADAN.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Esq.,
90 Marlborough St., Boston, U. S. A.

Mr. GOODELL remarked that since his paper upon the witch-trials appeared in the October serial, a reply to some portions of it had been read before the Society; and though he did not purpose to file a rejoinder, he would ask permission to state some additional considerations reinforcing his original argument, which will, at the same time, apply to the main points that have been made against it. He continued as follows:—

In the first place, to the point that there is a manifest distinction between the judicial system established by the province charter and that of the mother country, and that under the former no commissions of oyer and terminer could be issued except upon the previous authorization of the legislature, I would call the attention of the Society to the practice, to-day, in the Dominion of Canada, where the distinction between the legislative and judicial functions is very strictly observed,—certainly as strictly as in the province of Massachusetts Bay under the royal charter. There, notwithstanding the British North America Act, 1867, which is the organic law of the province, confers upon the governor-general the exclusive power of appointing the judges of the provincial courts,—with certain express exceptions,—the lieutenant-governors of New Brunswick and Ontario, in which provinces courts of oyer and terminer continue to be held, invariably issue the commissions for these courts; and what gives additional force to this as an instance in point, is the fact that while the constitutionality of this practice has never been questioned, the authority of the governor-general in respect to the *personnel* of the established courts is so jealously maintained that his exclusive right to appoint queen's counsel, both in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, in spite of an act in each of those provinces expressly conferring that power upon

the governor of the province, has been judicially determined by the Supreme Court of Canada.¹

In another aspect, the parallel between the present practice in New Brunswick and that of the province of Massachusetts Bay, in the issuing of commissions of oyer and terminer, is still closer; for, by clause 14 of section 92 of the British North America Act, "the administration of justice in the province, including the constitution, maintenance, and organization of provincial courts both of civil and criminal jurisdiction," is wholly and exclusively devolved upon the provincial legislature, which has no power to delegate this authority in any particular. It follows, therefore, that the issuing of a commission of oyer and terminer by the lieutenant-governor is there clearly understood to be a proceeding essentially different from the act of constituting a criminal court, within the meaning of the act of parliament.

Again, it is said that "the General Court did stay 'the evil'" of the witch-trials, "in a most effectual manner, by abolishing the court of oyer and terminer;" that "they bounced this tribunal within a year, and finally passed an act rendering any such future abuse of power impossible."

If this terse and emphatic language is employed to describe the effect of the supersedure of the Court of Oyer and Terminer by the establishment of the Superior Court of Judicature, the implication is extravagantly gratuitous. There never was any express dissolution of the Court of Oyer and Terminer. As has been already shown, its functions ceased, *ipso facto*, the moment a competent court of assize and jail delivery began its sessions within the same jurisdiction. That such a court would be held in Essex County was foreseen when the act establishing the Superior Court² was passed at the session of the assembly which began on the 12th of October; and an extraordinary term of assize and jail delivery was specially appointed by the legislature during the same session,³ for the purpose of trying fresh in-

¹ *Lenoir et al. v. Ritchie*, 3 Duval, 575.

² *Province Laws*, 1692-93, chap. 33.

³ *Ibid.*, chap. 45. From Sewall's *Diary*, under date of Oct. 26, 1692, it appears "that the Court of Oyer and Terminer" counted "themselves dismissed," by the vote on a bill for a "Fast and Convocation of Ministers, that [we] may be led in the right way as to the witchcrafts." This was a measure promoted by the friends and relatives of the accused. Three days later, according to the same authority, Governor Phips decided that the court "must fall."

dictments for witchcraft. This court, so far from being essentially a new tribunal, was held, with a single exception, by judges, with Stoughton still at their head, who had sat in the former trials.

The new court of assize recommenced the work of prosecuting witches with increased vigor. The new grand juries, obedient to the charges of the court, found fresh bills of indictment for witchcraft; and it is said that not less than fifty-six of these were preferred at the first term. Certain it is that, at the special term at Salem, at the first regular term for Middlesex, in the same month, and at the term held at Ipswich, in the following month, thirty-one indictments against persons accused of covenanting with the Devil or practising acts of witchcraft were tried, and that in all but three of these cases the petit juries found verdicts of "not guilty." Those who were not acquitted were afterwards relieved or pardoned.

It would seem therefore, after all, that we are more indebted to the practical common-sense of that most popular tribunal, *the jury*, than to all other influences, for putting a stop to those scenes of horror which all the rules of evidence, as then understood and practised in the most enlightened courts, all the skill and acumen of a trained attorney for the prosecution, and all the wisdom of a grave, learned, and pious bench of judges, were powerless to prevent.

It is an important fact, but one which seems to have been overlooked by all writers upon these witch-trials, that, in the later cases of witchcraft, the jurors were chosen by, and from among, all those inhabitants of the province who possessed the requisite amount of property to qualify them as electors under the new charter. The act requiring this qualification for jurors was passed Nov. 25, 1692;¹ and though an earlier act had prescribed the same qualification for jurors serving at the courts of general sessions and of common pleas,² no such rule had been made or adopted for the Special Court of Oyer and Terminer. The only *venire* for this last-named court, that has been preserved,³ was for the September term, and is directed to the sheriff, requiring him to impanel and return,

¹ Province Laws, 1692-93, chap. 33.

² *Ibid.*, chap. 9.

³ Woodward, vol. i. p. 10.

as petit jurors, "good and lawful men of the *freeholders and other freemen*" of his bailiwick. Thus it seems that before the assizes were established, the jurors were chosen, as in colonial times, from among the *freemen* only; and these being, by the old law, necessarily church members, were more likely to obey implicitly the directions of the judges, — with whose prejudices they were in full sympathy, — than were those selected, in each town, by the whole body of electors, which had been enlarged and liberalized, in conformity with the requirements of the charter, by the inclusion of a considerable proportion of respectable persons not members of the orthodox communion.

That the influence of this new element in the body politic was felt in the matter of selecting jurors for the Superior Court, appears, to some extent, in the rejection of numerous indictments laid before the grand juries, though not in so marked a degree as in the large proportion of verdicts of acquittal.

Another groundless insinuation ought not to be permitted to pass unchallenged; and that is that the eminently conservative profession of the law, which has never, as such, encouraged, much less started, any political or legal reform, would have furnished the world an exceptional example of high thinking and just dealing if it could have had the exclusive management, *secundum artem*, of the witch-trials.

Lawyers, naturally and honestly enough, are inclined to ascribe all errors and follies of the courts to the want of professional training in the judges, and laymen are too ready to accept this interested judgment as conclusive. But this assumption is only pardonable because the habitual professional prejudice upon which it is founded has too long been amiably or ignorantly tolerated. It is notorious that the Romillys of the legal profession, however eventually successful as reformers, are always in an exceedingly small minority, and that their merits are seldom understood and appreciated by their contemporaries of the gown. We of this generation are witnesses of a remarkable illustration of this professional conservatism. For more than a century and a half after the juries in Essex and Middlesex had turned the tide of persecution against the alleged witches, the lawyers both of Old and New England stubbornly adhered to, and the judges continued to expound with every refinement of reason-

ing, a stupendously absurd system of evidence apparently contrived to make the judicial ascertainment of truth as difficult as possible; and while we are saved from despair over the prospect of ultimately mitigating or removing other flagrant evils in our judicial system by the knowledge that this learned rubbish has at length been finally relegated to the oblivion it deserves, it is still not to be denied that the lawyers who are unreconciled to the common-sense innovation by which this obstruction to justice was overcome, are not among those who are held in lowest repute for their professional ability and attainments.

The testimony admitted in the witch-trials, here in 1692, was, I repeat, admissible by the rules of evidence then generally recognized by the most eminent lawyers; and as to the crimes alleged, the indictments, in some instances, were copied, *verbatim*, from the most approved precedents.¹ Newton, the first prosecuting attorney, was, as has been said, a trained lawyer; and while it would be unjust to charge upon him the sole responsibility for the results of the so-called trials in the Court of Oyer and Terminer, or even for the manner in which those trials were conducted, — the admission of spectre evidence, the assumption that the accused were guilty, the inducements used to extort confessions, and the

¹ It is hard to form a satisfactory conjecture as to the cause of the confusion in the forms of indictments preferred at different times during the course of these prosecutions. In two instances only — the second indictments against Rebecca Eames and Samuel Wardwell, respectively — was the felony expressly charged to be in violation of the statute of James I. These indictments appear to have been drawn in blank by Newton, or under his direction, and to have been subsequently filled in by Checkley; but the latter, in the indictments which he himself drew, made the allegation of the breach of the law broad enough to comprise, also, the colonial ordinance. Again, it is not improbable that the violation of different statutes may have been purposely charged on account of the very uncertainty of the law, and, where different indictments were found against the same person, from a desire to hold the prisoner to answer to at least one valid indictment. On the other hand, there is no indication of any doubt or scruple in the minds of the judges, who, in that period of loose criminal practice, were probably not more solicitous for the safety of culprits than were contemporary judges in England, and who doubtless were entirely satisfied with the very general advice of the reverend clergy, in their "Return," to them and their associates in the council: "Nevertheless, we cannot but humbly recommend, unto the government, the speedy and vigorous prosecutions of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious, according to the directions given in the laws of God and the wholesome statutes of the English nation, for the detection of witchcrafts." — *Hutchinson's Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 51.

menaces against those who denied their guilt; all of which he must, at least, have approved of or connived at, — the candid student of those judicial proceedings will not fail to notice that it was not until after this thoroughbred lawyer had been superseded as prosecuting attorney that the juries began to acquit.

In regard to the copy of the act to reverse the attainders, etc., in the court files at Salem, I did not at first deem it important to refer to the handwriting further than to mention that the copy was made in the Secretary's office, although the experts at the State House were confident that other manuscripts, evidently by the same hand, were Addington's; but an intimation that the actual passage of the act in question has not been put beyond all doubt by the evidence already adduced, makes it important for me to say, here, that a critical comparison of the copy at Salem with specimens of Secretary Addington's handwriting of about the same date, the genuineness of which is unquestionable, leaves no doubt that the copy procured by Sewall was written by the Secretary himself, and has, therefore, the value of an authentic transcript, although it does not now bear, if it ever did, any formal attestation.

It should also be mentioned that this copy is not the only contemporary evidence, besides the record and the printed act which has been heliotyped, of the passage of the act; for the petition of Samuel Wardwell in behalf of his mother (Feb. 19, 1711-12) declares that her "name is not inserted in the late Act of the General Court, for the taking off the attainder of those that were condemned;" and Elizabeth Johnson, junior, in her petition (of the same date), after stating that the General Court "hath lately made an Act for taking off the Attainder of those that were condemned for witchcraft in the year 1692," represents that her name "is not inserted in said act," and prays that, if possible, it may be so inserted.¹

Mr. GOODELL also produced a copy of Governor Shirley's proclamation, advertising the stamps which were issued to raise money to defray the expenses of the expedition against Crown Point at the beginning of the French War. He exhibited the first printed form of an original writ ever used

¹ See these petitions on file in the Clerk's office, or as printed by Woodward, vol. ii. pp. 242, 243.

in Massachusetts; and a broadside giving the news of the preliminaries of the peace of Ryswick, in 1697.

Mr. WINSOR introduced a letter from Mr. Charles G. Leland, of Philadelphia, in which he spoke of the very large number of Indian legends which he had collected, and of the Norse-like element in the myths, which he pronounced fully equal to anything in the Edda. There is still extant in New England and Canada an almost undiscovered literature of this sort, which is of immense value.

A new serial, including the Proceedings for November and December, was laid on the table by the Recording Secretary at this meeting.

Dr. CLARKE contributed a Memoir of the late Rev. Dr. William Newell.

MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM NEWELL, D.D.

BY JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

WILLIAM NEWELL, D.D., minister of the First Parish, Cambridge, for nearly thirty-eight years,—and a member of our Society from December, 1854, until his death, in October, 1881,—was a man universally respected, and one beloved by all who knew him. The sweetness of his disposition was a birthright; he brought it into the world with him. But his fidelity to duty, his patience in trial, his constant industry, composed a character which attained its perfection as the result of life-long effort and training. He grew more and more tender, humane, and kindly with his advancing years. He met many discouragements, but was never discouraged. That which might have disturbed other men, or thrown gloom over their later days, left him so cheerful that calamity lost its sting, and failed to do him any harm.

The life of Mr. Newell was uneventful. He was born in Boston, Feb. 25, 1804, and was descended from a Bristol merchant, who settled in Charlestown in 1630. His father, Jonathan Newell, died in Boston in 1831. His mother's maiden name was Nancy Tuttle, and she was born in Littleton, Massachusetts. William Newell entered the Boston Latin School in 1814, having been prepared for that institution by Mr. John Lathrop, who gave him a recommendation to Mr. B. A. Gould as "a child of uncommon sweetness of temper, and, as a scholar, attentive to study and correct in deportment." He had a taste for literature, and wrote essays and poems which took prizes in the Latin School. He entered Harvard College with the class of 1824, and graduated in that year as the second scholar; Edward Bliss Emerson, brother of Ralph Waldo Emerson, being the first in rank.

His intellect was early mature, and his judgment singularly sound, if we may judge by what has been preserved of his compositions of that early date. The subject of his valedictory oration was "The Duties of College Students as Men and Citizens." It was filled with sound and earnest appeals to his fellow students to do something for the country which had done so much for them; exhorting them to cherish and practise a true patriotism, not one of mere words, or founded only on habit, but based on a conviction of the worth and claims of the nation on their public spirit. This tone was more common in those days than it has been since. In recent times it has been the fashion to treat such sentiments more lightly, and to undervalue the enthusiasm which is so proper to youth. The affectation of having old heads on young shoulders has replaced, in many instances, the generous fire of the earlier days. Yet probably this is more a fashion of speech than a deep conviction; and if another call should be made on the youth of the University like that of 1861, the answer, we doubt not, would be as prompt and self-forgetting as it was then.

In 1825 Mr. Newell was appointed an usher in the Boston Latin School, with a salary of \$600. He next entered the Harvard Divinity School, and graduated in 1829. In the same year he made a journey to the South, preaching in different cities. In 1830 he received a call from the First Parish in Cambridge to become its pastor, and accepted it. He remained the minister of this church during thirty-eight years, and was always listened to with respect and affection. He grew, every year, in the knowledge and love of God. Older men regarded him as a son; those of his own age as a brother; and the younger looked up to him as the kindest of fathers and friends. So his years passed by, peacefully and happily. He saw a great change take place, during the period of his ministry, in society, manners, arts. The year that he was settled saw the beginning of the anti-slavery movement. His ministry lasted some years after the end of the Civil War and the downfall of slavery.

In 1835 he married the daughter of William Wells, a distinguished scholar, writer, and teacher. Averse to controversy, he seldom engaged in theological discussion, though accepting fully the belief of the Unitarian denomination. It

was the custom, when he was settled, to elect the pastor by the voters of the town, and to pay his salary by town taxes. Long before he left the church, it became a voluntary association. Its connection with the University was also dissolved during his time, a change of circumstances making this desirable. Before his settlement a part of the society had seceded and formed the "Shepard Congregational Society." This minority protested against the settlement of Mr. Newell; but he was not obliged to take any part in the controversy, and never did so. After his separation from his pastoral care in 1868, he still continued to perform many duties of the office, and was constantly called on to visit the sick and dying, to assist at weddings and funerals, and was always in his place in his pew. He died Oct. 28, 1881. His favorite maxim during life was that which he wrote on the cover of his first sermon: "Serve God, and be cheerful."

Mr. Newell did not publish much; but all he wrote was remarkable for purity of style, perfect taste, and a mastery of the English language. He prepared several articles for our Society, including notices of deceased members, and other papers. The history of "The Cambridge Church Gathering," with notes, printed in a memorial volume after his death, shows much aptitude for historic research, and preserves valuable facts from the earliest days of New England.

In closing this brief notice, I cannot better show the spirit of our associate than by transcribing here a sonnet which he wrote on New Year's day, two years before his death, which he showed to no one, and which was read for the first time at his funeral by the Rev. Francis G. Peabody.

"Under God's eye, and trusting in his love,
I launch my boat upon another year,
And leave to him, my Pilot, safe to steer
My leaky bark unto the port above.
Back to the checkered past to-day I look,
With grateful memories of all he gave,
While on the shadows of each household grave
Falls a soft sunshine from the Holy Book.
Soon shall I leave my dear ones of the earth;
Soon shall I meet my dear ones gone before.
The body's death is the freed spirit's birth,
And the dark grave to Life the secret door;
While to Faith's quickened ear the funeral bell
Blends the glad welcome with the sad farewell."